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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine-bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

[17] Shrinking to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits some water upon the affected person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to.

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines.

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manᵃᵉpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all the clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
●755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[784] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All these spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens. The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you."

Then the hitcara said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all these

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832 278 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

● 755 [752] A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of [752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

756 [754] The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the 754 774 offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[1] The following portion is inserted in the statement of our informant, who is a member of the Pepeun sect.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hare-ger-xina, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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757 278 841 This is medicine used by women when their menstrual flow is not very good:

1. Tremananuk'e, English unknown.
2. Wazi p'ara'ske ahera, pine with flat leaves (?).
3. Waruiteri ahera, red cedar leaves.
4. Manik'a p'orup'oro ahera, round medicine leaves.

All four of these ingredients are ground, mixed together, and then mixed with water. They are then drunk by any woman having trouble with her menstrual flow. After she has taken it she makes knots in the belt and ties it around her waist. As many knots as she makes that many days will it take her to get well. She also smokes herself with cedar leaves.

757 278 The next medicine that I wish to speak of is compounded as follows:

1. K'ewaxgu'tu'wera, scent of a toad.
2. Waninkru'te na'ntckera, heart of a red bird.
3. Hartce'kera, strawberries.
4. Wanketik na'ntckera, human heart.
5. Xawi'ja', a plant.

278 [754] If this medicine were mixed with whisky and given to any person, the latter would surely die within a year. The frog that is used in this medicine becomes alive in the stomach of the person who drinks it and kills him. If he took the same medicine and mixed it with [832] paint and then rubbed it over his face, all who looked at him would take a liking to him and give him presents, and the women would fall in love with him and want to marry him. The reason that the women become smitten is because they can not resist the sight of a ripe strawberry. The human heart in the mixture is the object that makes the medicine so powerful, and the red bird heart strengthens it. [826] Whenever these two, the human heart and the heart of the red bird, are used in medicines, the medicine is always remarkably efficacious.

832 If a woman makes fun of you and you feel hurt about it and want to revenge yourself, get one of her hairs and dip the root into this medicine and then tie it up. Hang the medicine bag in the woods and whenever the wind blows the woman will get lonesome for you and her head will ache. Finally she will get crazy. She will never cease talking about you. This is one of the medicines this man was blessed with. Some of them die from the effects of it. It is not a good thing, but the Winnebago thought that it was a very great thing. (Now that they know the Creator, they know that it is bad.)

● 755 278 Here is another medicine that we have, and it is prepared in the following way: Four trees of a certain species are peeled near the roots lying on the east side. Then the second bark is also peeled. Then these are taken and boiled together with a square-stemmed weed. The whole mixture is used to induce vomiting. This vomiting would rid a person of a spell cast upon him which was preventing

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes: As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxcu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma"sixu'tekeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 755 782 776 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Ha^a ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now, I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

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755 782 776 539 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

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"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother. 755 782 776 539

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

THUNDERCLOUD'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me. 756 776

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

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the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths. 776

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

Disease-giver. This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hocexᵉᵘ wahiru*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war and the curing of disease. [726 755]

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

Thunderbird. Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere— in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing of bay wreathes. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle. [756]

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with victory on the warpath. [726]

Water-spirit.—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teeri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup- [756]

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart."[a] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law," that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[a] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[b] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aretaga'in is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aretaga'in's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

776 756 159 781 [153]

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed[a]so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[b] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers," and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

●[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[a] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[b] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Teiwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption.

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given.

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose

[1] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the ma°warap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the ma°warap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the ma°warap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma°warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands."

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Neeine'na neeine'na ha°pire°nê.
I am he, I am he, the day it is I.

2

Ha'ne°niągu°ne'k'ire hiniągai'rê nink'ire'i°niąkara d,aniągi'gré.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma°re'ó'je° he'daljahi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wą'wonaire°ri° nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
He'naire°ri° nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well — my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. "I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(PL. XX, *a*)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupaka* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried
[77] to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

756 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner.

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies.

Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Fig. 3, d; 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children.

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use, and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1914. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features.

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

Speech of ninth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I know that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

Speech of tenth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

Crashing Thunder

*159 Once when I was sick he treated me. As soon as he
●755 came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and
[782] made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting
755 experience:
787
756
[776]

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[95] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.

1 A [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

7: Radin F-'s (ca 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me.

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment.

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 ●755 782 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

The Prayers to the Spirits

*159 755 782 996 539 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

7: Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The power with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient, you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray. You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd; you told me after I had fasted for four days that you would help me. You said that I would never fail in anything I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be opened out before him. That is what you promised to me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man.

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

The Teachings of My Father

Search there and you will undoubtedly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§17. *A Woman Bewitches Me*

Once when I returned to the camp I found some other people there. There I also found my grandfather. He had brought along with him one of the two women with whom I had been living, the older one. I did not like it at all. My grandfather asked me to live with her and I did so during the hunting season. When it was over this woman remained there and I returned to my home with another one. My former wife stayed there a long time, but when she got tired of waiting for me to return, she left. 159* 837 588

Just about this time I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me. 159* 754 755

From that time on I began to live with as many women as I could, for I had developed the idea that I was a lady-killer. 159* 156 837

The Effect of a Pretended Blessing

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 755 [273] [602] [845] [577] [657]

drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers even more, for now I was really convinced that I possessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine Dance was given and frequently I would knock people unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

My Release from Prison

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their home. My father and I walked by ourselves and he told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing. Yet those who partake, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. We were told these things and therefore joined. What they claimed is true and your mother is practically well now, and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued, "The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all the medicines that they possess and whose virtues they know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things, destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits deceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are shot.

7:Radin F-5 (ca. 1912) T928 NP12 Winn· bago NP12

*159 795 786 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 795 755 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Effects of the Peyote

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well. 159 * 795 955

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire. [551]

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he [551]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

* 159 795 ● 755 would realize that if any medicine is good it is this one. It is a cure for all evil.

Before I thought that I knew something but really I knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had done. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy, has made me good and rid me of all evil. The one whom we call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

* 159 795 If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge you must partake of it for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way can you ever get happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your head for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try it. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem a good excuse for not trying it. Why, however, should you do this? Even if you partake of only part of the good claimed, yet I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if you were digging a grave for yourself with it, that you were about to die. Indeed you will be wondering what was going

Crashing Thunder

159 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who
[155] was sick. The sick would always get well when a meet-
795 ing was held in their home and that is why we used to
786 hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories.
539 He spoke as follows:

[i.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

796 575 158 out design. There he lay without motion or sign of life, and the dance was resumed around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 575 783 They told the Judge before they admitted him to this ceremony that while he was there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to witness these ceremonies, no woman in the [841] menstrual period, no woman pregnant or [843] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person [273] that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings in the sweat lodge [756] were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

796 575 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies [755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The [171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open [775] from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of
828 the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
158 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

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succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.